UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918)

John Haynes Holmes, *Editor in Chief*

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Francis Neilson Louis L. Mann Curtis W. Reese

The Independent Life

By H. R. MUSSEY

The Story of My Experiments With Truth

Chapter VII. By M. K. GANDHI

Germany and Europe Today

From A Special Correspondent

VOLUME XCVII NUMBER 13

Chicago, May 24, 1926

PUBLISHED WEEKLY

UNITY

(Established 1878)

A JOURNAL *of the* RELIGION *of* DEMOCRACY

Subscription, $3.00 per Annum

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Vol. 1 March 1, 1878 No. 1

THE

Pamphlet Mission

FOR

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP & CHARACTER

IN

RELIGION.

Publishing Committee:
Robert Collyer, Chicago. Wm. C. Gannett, St. Paul.
Jenkin Ll. Jones, Janesville. C. W. Wendte, Cincinnati.
J. C. Learned, St. Louis.

PUBLISHED SEMI-MONTHLY AT 65 WASHINGTON ST., CHICAGO.
Per Year, $1.00. Single Number, 10 Cents.

Francis L. Rogers, 65 Washington St., Chicago, - Business Agent.
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UNITY PUBLISHING CO., Abraham Lincoln Centre, 700 Oakwood Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

"Entered as Second-Class Matter, January 12, 1899, at the Postoffice at Chicago, Illinois, under Act of March 3, 1879"

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOLUME XCVII | MONDAY, MAY 24, 1926 | NUMBER 13

THE CITY OF LIGHT

Hail the glorious golden city,
Pictured by the seers of old:
Everlasting light shines o'er it,
Wondrous things of it are told.
Only righteous men and women
Dwell within its gleaming wall;
Wrong is banished from its borders,
Justice reigns supreme o'er all.

We are builders of that City.
All our joys and all our groans
Help to rear its shining ramparts;
All our lives are building stones.
Whether humble or exalted,
All are called to task divine;
All must aid alike to carry
Forward one sublime design.

And the work that we have builded,
Oft with bleeding hands and tears,
Oft in error, oft in anguish,
Will not perish with our years:
It will live and shine transfigured
In the final reign of right:
It will pass into the splendors
Of the city of the light.

—Felix Adler.

[Printed in celebration of the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Ethical Culture Society, May 15, 1876.]

The Ethical Movement in this country, so closely associated with the great name of Felix Adler, is this month celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of its founding. We rejoice that Dr. Adler is alive, and still in the full vigor of his physical and intellectual powers, to enjoy and also to participate in this happy occasion, and to see around him the great company not only of his own followers but of all progressive spirits everywhere who reverence him for his precious and permanent contribution to the welfare of the race. The Ethical Movement is notable first of all, we think, for its basic recognition of the idea of progress. As little in the New Testament as in his heritage, the Old Testament, could Dr. Adler find a spiritual abiding-place. Neither in Judaism nor yet in Christianity could his movement seek haven. Its life was on before, a constant advancement into knowledge and new idealism. Next must be noted the unique character of Ethical Culture as a religion divorced from every last fragment of theology, and identified with morals. Dr. Adler and his followers have not so much emphasized the moral element in religion, as made this element the exclusive content of religion. If, as Emerson has declared, "the progress of religion is steadily to its identity with morals," then the Ethical Movement represents the culmination of spiritual development in this country. Of the attempts to further the ethical ideal, both in theory and practise, the first half-century of the Movement's life is a glorious record, fittingly symbolized by Dr. Adler's occupancy of the chair of Political and Social Ethics at Columbia since 1902, and his headship through many years of the National Child Labor Committee. Central to all its work, of course, has been education as embodied in the great Ethical Culture School. Train each rising generation to "the knowledge, the love, and the practise of the right," impart ever "larger shapes of truth and juster justice," and "the better world we look for will come!" Ethical Culture societies have been established in New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, St. Louis, Boston, and in cities abroad; but the influences of the movement far surpass the reach of any organized groups. Like a tonic atmosphere, it permeates our modern world. On May 15, 1876, Dr. Adler started to build a "stronghold of freedom and of all the humanities for the long years to come." He lives to see the fulfilment of his dream.

Back in the good old days of the woman suffrage campaigns, one of the favorite slogans was the query, Are women people? We are reminded of this inquiry as we read the strike news from England, and more especially the editorial comments of our American

papers on this news. Everywhere the conflict is presented as a struggle between the strikers and *the people of England.* With endless variations we are told that the English people will not stand for this attack upon constitutional government, that the English people will endure any degree of privation and suffering before they will give in, that the English people will defy the strikers to the bitter end, etc., etc. All of which raises the question, Who *are* the English people?—and the further, still more pertinent question, *Are strikers not people?* According to the best accounts, more than 5,000,000 men and women in the British Isles are out on strike. These strikers represent families aggregating between 20,000,000 and 25,000,000 men, women and children, or between one-third and one-fourth of the total population of the kingdom. Are these strikers not people? Are they not rightly to be included among the subjects of the realm? We thought of this same question the other day when we went to Garfield, New Jersey, to get a look at the so-called Passaic strike. We had been reading for days about the people of Garfield, and their attitude toward the strike, and what they were doing to control the strikers. Then we discovered that Garfield had a population of 22,000, and that there were some 3,000 strikers and their families in the town, aggregating some 10,000 to 12,000 men and women at the least, or half the population. Were these strikers not people? Were they not to be included among the citizens of the town? What we have here, if only we have the brains to recognize it, is a master-and-slave psychology. We middle-class people still think of working people as serfs or slaves, who must be kept in their places and held to their tasks. They are not *people!* They are just workers—working for *us*—*our* comfort, *our* leisure, *our* happiness. This is the viewpoint of our whole capitalistic civilization; and it explains why this, like every other slave autocracy, must sooner or later end.

There is one perfectly simple and definite way of getting rid of war, and this has just been illustrated by the new treaty now in course of negotiation between Germany and Holland. This treaty, according to the newspaper dispatches, which are usually conservative in matters of this kind, provides for an arbitration court which will have power to render absolutely final decisions in all differences which may arise between the two countries concerned, whether these disputes involve political, commercial, or financial questions, or even questions of national honor. The treaty thus brings to completion the processes well begun and far advanced in the Locarno compact and the recent Russo-German-agreement. What we have here, of course, is an instance of taking this business of making peace seriously. The whole peace movement may be summarized as an attempt to substitute law for war; and if this attempt is to be in any way successful, it must be made to apply everywhere and all the time. International law, in other words, must be absolutely inclusive, leaving no question of any kind to be settled by the arbitrament of arms. Which means that the whole basis of such law must be the *outlawry of war* as a recognized means of settling disputes between nations. We cannot find in the newspaper reports any indication that, in this proposed treaty between Holland and Germany, war is specifically denounced and banned as a crime. But the legal machinery established for the safeguarding of peace certainly involves this idea; and it is not too much to say, therefore, that what Holland and Germany are here trying to do as between themselves, is precisely what the Outlawry of War Committee would have all the nations do together on a world-wide scale. We count this treaty, therefore, as one more victory for Outlawry. Slowly but surely we are moving toward the acceptance of this program as the one solution of our vexing problem.

Some time ago it was solemnly reported that Rivera, the Spanish dictator, had definitely resigned his position of authority, and thus made way for the restoration of constitutional government. This was a generous act on the dictator's part. So kind to hand back to the authorities the political power which he had stolen! But strange things are still happening in Spain, and one wonders, if the dictatorship is really ended, what is the difference betwen the rule of a dictator and the rule of the duly constituted authorities. Thus there comes from Madrid the announcement that Dr. Jimenez de Asua, professor of penal law in Madrid University, an eminent scholar in his field, has been exiled to the Chaferine Islands, off Melilla, Morocco, for having "censured the work of the government" —think of such audacity!—"and for carrying on a campaign of defamation both within and without Spain." This sounds curiously like what happened to the great Professor Unamuno, of Salamanca, back in the days of Rivera. Mention of Unamuno brings to mind another recent happening in Spain. It seems that some students at Salamanca did not like the man selected to take Unamuno's chair, and lifted up noisy protests. Whereupon these students "and other elements" were duly seized and imprisoned for fifteen days. A few days ago came the story of the exile of a certain editor for publishing articles distasteful to the government. All in all, Spain must be a delightful place to live in, especially if you have any brains—almost as delightful a place as Italy! From both countries, apparently, all civil liberties have been destroyed, and great souls are either being banished or themselves are fleeing to foreign parts. One fact is sure in the light of such events as these—that, as a result of the war

to make the world safe for democracy, we have work for a full generation cut out for us to regain the liberties lost in that great struggle and after. Yet there are people who apparently still believe that war can be made to serve the ends of liberty.

Sinclair Lewis has surprised us. Not being a novelist or poet or journalist, we have looked on the Pulitzer prizes as an interesting annual diversion. Now that Mr. Lewis has refused the prize awarded his novel, "Arrowsmith," we are reminded of things we ought to have remembered, and add his name forthwith to the list of great American personalities. His revolt against stupidity and conformity is real. He will not be coerced. In a letter to Nicholas Murray Butler he has said:

> All prizes, like all titles, are dangerous. The seekers for prizes tend to labor, not for inherent excellence, but for alien rewards; they tend to write this, or timorously to avoid writing that, in order to tickle the prejudices of a haphazard committee.
>
> The Pulitzer Prize for Novels signifies already much more than a convenient thousand dollars to be accepted even by such writers as smile secretly at the actual wording of the terms. It is tending to become a sanctified tradition. There is a general belief that the administrators of the prize are a pontifical body, with the discernment and the power to grant the prize as the ultimate proof of merit. It is believed that they are always guided by a committee of responsible critics, though in the case of both this and other Pulitzer Prizes the administrators can, and sometimes do, quite arbitrarily reject the recommendations of their supposed advisers.
>
> If already the Pulitzer Prize is so important it is not absurd to suggest that in another generation it may, with the actual terms of the award ignored, become the one thing for which any ambitious novelist will strive; and the administrators of the prize may become a supreme court, a college of cardinals, so rooted and so sacred that to challenge them will be to commit blasphemy. Such is the French Academy, and we have had the spectacle of even an Anatole France intriguing for election.
>
> Between the Pulitzer prizes, the American Academy of Arts and Letters and its training school, the National Institute of Arts and Letters, amateur boards of censorship and the inquisition of earnest literary ladies, every compulsion is put upon writers to become safe, polite, obedient and sterile. . . .
>
> I invite other writers to consider the fact that by accepting the prizes and approval of these vague institutions we are admitting their authority, publicly confirming them as the final judges of literary excellence, and I inquire whether any prize is worth that subservience.

These are brave words and wise, and they have the ring of sincerity. It is surely true that writers, like other grown-up children, may be controlled by approbation quite as effectively as by censorship. The moment we admit that the Pulitzer committee or any other such body has the power that goes with the right to distribute sugar-plums, we must agree that those who seek their favor part with that independence that is and ought to be an essential in the character of a creative artist. To write for prizes is just about as unlovely as to write to avoid punishment. Mr. Lewis has set a new standard for all pen-people. Whoever accepts a Pulitzer prize in time to come will have to apologize to his fellow-craftsmen for so doing.

An American has flown to the North Pole by airplane. Time was when such an event would have thrilled millions of people. That time, for one reason or another, seems to have passed. The wonder is not that the thing has been done, but that it can be done. The handicap has been removed. There is no element of the dramatic left in the incident. Flying to the Pole is now no more exciting than flying from Paris to London. Attempting the conquest of the Pole as Franklin and Nansen attempted it is still heroic; their stories will be read for generations by appreciative thousands. The man who visits the Pole by airplane can never hope for such enduring fame. His vehicle makes all the difference. The moment the first machine designed to fly really flew the victory over the element of the air was achieved. What remained was merely the development of a technique. That was done long ago. Now man may fly where he will. This is important, surely, but there are other things equally if not more important. The thinker knows this; he remembers the problem of cancer, the problem of poverty, the problem of war, and he wishes that men might devote their energies more enthusiastically to the search for solutions to these ancient challenges of our race. Somehow it is becoming increasingly plain that mere triumph over machines is not so important as it once was thought. The creation of new and better engines does not represent achievement meaningful enough to satisfy our desires. We long for victories over ourselves, over the plagues and curses which are our lot, over our own mistakes and shortcomings, over the frailty and the suffering of our own nature. Here is the new field for the heroic endeavor of the future.

The Independent Life

The lessening of illiteracy is making independence of thought and life next to impossible. So long as men could not read, there was no effective way of making them all think alike; hence they did not all act alike. Even adjoining valleys had distinctive costumes, customs, traditions. Compulsory education has changed all that. It has subjected every one of us to the whim of the advertiser, the five-cent magazine editor, the literary go-getter of every sort. The war revealed to eager learners the astonishing modern possibilities of mass production in the field of thought so-called. The Egyptian frogs and flies and locusts were as nothing to the plague of propagandists who in consequence now busy themselves twenty-four hours a day trying,

on the whole with great success, to "educate" us to believe one thing and another. Probably the most pernicious and dangerous of the lot, by reason of their powerful and ultra-respectable connections, their fanatical narrow earnestness, and their adherence to formulas of proved destructive power, are the professional patriots of all sorts, from the sabre-rattling admirals who curse Williamstown, the pompous fat legal advocates of the inherent and everlasting superiority of American legal arrangements, and the fake-scientific preachers of Nordic superiority, all the way down to the schoolboy in the grades who teaches his little brother properly to despise the "wops" and "dagoes."

One of the most conspicuous manifestations of their activity during recent years has been the widespread and persistent effort to falsify the historical thought apparatus of the next generation, though most of them do not know that this is what they are trying to do. They want our children to learn unquestioningly the same hoary myths about the supermen who once were America that bedeviled our own thinking in days past. If these efforts succeed, it means that the United States will be preserved in ignorance and arrogance, less capable than ever of that difficult cooperation with other peoples on which hang the possibilities of a decent and peaceful world. Just at the moment, the activities of these guardians of the youth are issuing in an astonishing two-volume history of the United States, written by a professor of English at the instigation of the American Legion and under its auspices. Cooperating, according to the preface, is an extraordinary array of patriotic, civic and other organizations ranging from the American Federation of Labor at one end of the alphabet to the Y. W. C. A. at the other. Considering the character of the book, the list is shocking. Have organized Americans no brains or conscience? What chance have the children?

But our ability to read is not the only new menace to independence of thought and action. To the thoughtful man of sensitive spirit nothing seems more appalling than the possibilities of uniformity, monotony and mediocrity with which our very mechanical triumphs threaten us. The increased ease of transportation and communication is robbing the whole world of all its little out-of-the-way corners. The cheap, uniform, machine-made product, backed by all the resources of national advertising and "scientific salesmanship," is progressively driving out the old variable hand-made wares. Often, of course, the new product is better than the old, but none the less the world loses variety and interest. The railroad, the automobile, the movie and the radio are reducing all parts of all countries to varying shades of dull grayness. To be sure, there are compensations, and the process is far from complete. But here in the United States, where the new technique did not have to fight it out with an ancient tradition, we see the process in its highest development. We all wear the same nationally advertised clothes, and change to straw hats on the same day of early summer; we live in the cells of many-storied sanitary flats in cities, while in the country our dwelling is either a dry-goods box or a "House Beautiful" (the country dweller actually does have this option); we ride in the same cars, and say the same things about them; we look at the same tabloids and read the same magazines of success; we sit idly watching the same movies; we listen to the same music and the same bedtime stories over the radio; we think the same thoughts; we babble the same conversation. There is no use rending any garments over the matter, or even any hearts. Most of us believe that we are going uphill rather than down, though it would be hard to prove it; but none the less the prospect is arresting to every man who believes that what makes life worth while is the free play of the human mind and spirit. And now comes the British strike, with the oldest, best-educated, best-disciplined labor movement in the world brought squarely to grips with the most democratic of modern governments in an encounter desired by none but a handful on either side, yet an encounter into which both sides have been pushed forward as it were by an ineluctable necessity, reminding one of nothing so much as the Greek Anangke. And the yet more incredible, undesired and yet apparently unavoidable disaster of the World War is less than a decade behind us. Are we then robots rather than men, with a mocking and malevolent Rossum sitting forever darkly in the background? If we will not admit that we are shut up to such a fate, how are we to avoid, for ourselves, and the more for our children, being mere puppets? How are we and our children to live the free life that alone is life, in the midst of a world of free men?

Clearly not by monasticism, attractive though the method of withdrawal at times appears to wearied spirits. But that method does not solve the problem of independence any more than the action of the conscientious objector, heroic and necessary as it may be, solves the problem of war. Peace comes only as the world meets the conditions of peace, independence only as it meets those of freedom. We are fatally bound together, and in these matters it really looks as though we rise socially more or less by the process of lifting ourselves individually by our bootstraps, unpromising as the process sounds.

First of all, those of us who see the danger can do our utmost to help keep open the channels of dissent, however uncongenial and disagreeable the task be. If in guarding the priceless boon of free speech and writing we must defend it for fools, so be it. That is the penalty of belonging to a race made up as largely of fools as Carlyle suggested. We can control our impatience with the professional kicker, remembering that we ought to consider whether during these years just ahead dissent for its own sake may not have genu-

ine social value. We can cherish the contradictory fact, the divergent opinion, the dissentient action. We can fight tooth and nail the professional "Americanizers" and all the other thought standardizers who are imperiling civilization. We can help people see that it is possible to have too much faith in the truth and in our institutions to think that either can be imperiled by criticism, whether wise or foolish.

We can tolerate the vagaries of youth, can even encourage its foolish adventures. After all, to a child a city backyard is as full of goblins and dragons as was a medieval forest; to a youth a Ford may mean no less of adventure than did a Phenician galley. Poetry is of the heart and adventure of the spirit. That precious fire burns at some time in every breast. We who watch as parents and teachers and friends can fan it, so that in years to come it will still burn, within the walls of city tenements, in the cage of polite bank tellers, above the ledgers of sober and godly merchants. And if the spirit adventures, the mind will always be likely to have its unique turn, no matter what the external circumstances, no matter how overwhelming the weight of propaganda and authoritative opinion.

And, above all, for ourselves we can be unafraid. Daily we can lift our prayer for "courage and gaiety and the quiet mind," remembering that courage means gaiety and the quiet mind. We can reflect that independent thinking and living is in itself an adventure, and a dangerous one, and can enter on it with the zest that goes with danger. We can educate ourselves, as we educate our young people, to a critical awareness of the whole stream of influences that forever play upon us, to a keen and humorous appreciation of the endless rows of axes that our good friends have set up in the racks, waiting for us to grind. That done, we may choose with cheerfulness and good spirit which axes we think it worth while to help grind, remembering that such a choice represents about the only freedom open to the man who wants to find freedom as a citizen of this world and not of the next. In thus taking the responsibility for our own thought and our own life, we can cultivate a fresh respect for the method of scientific criticism that we have learned, a fresh confidence in the validity of the results at which we arrive by its aid. That done, we can stand by those judgments, in spite of propaganda, disapproval, unpopularity, failure, fearing only falsehood and disloyalty to the truth as it is slowly and painfully revealed to us. So doing, not only do we make a beginning of the independent life ourselves, but we do what is possible at making life free for others. For "we pass for what we are. Character teaches above our wills. Men imagine that they communicate their virtue or vice only by overt actions, and do not see that virtue or vice emit a breath every moment. . . . Let a man then know his worth, and keep things under his feet.

H. R. Mussey.

Jottings

We don't like to think of the thoughts of Dr. Felix Adler when, on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the Ethical Culture Society, he saw the event head-lined in one of the great New York papers as "Culture Club Celebrates." But perhaps Dr. Adler has learned philosophy and charity as regards the ignorant vulgarities of modern journalism!

When a *Byrd* flies to the North Pole, we are reminded afresh of the eternal fitness of things.

We are surprised that Colonel House has not gone to England to settle the great labor war. He probably would fail, just as he failed in his amiable attempt to settle the Great War, but he might at least succeed in dragging America into the conflict.

The War Department has announced that it will undertake no observance of a "National Defence Day" this year! Last year's fizzle, coupled with the determined and aggressive opposition of the pacifists, was evidently too much for the nerves of our parlor soldiers in Washington. Set down one more wholesome defeat for militarism in this country!

Mussolini loves to pose à la Napoleon; does he never remember Waterloo and St. Helena? Mussolini apes Caesar; does he forget what happened to Caesar? Mussolini seeks to revive the glories of ancient Rome; does he never think of the fate of that great empire? The laws of history are as certain as the laws of science—and also as terrible.

On one and the same day (May 7th) the franc fell to its lowest level, and Abd-el Krim refused to accept the French terms of peace and the war in Morocco was resumed. France has not been in so desperate a situation since those dreadful August days in 1914. We wish for her sake that a battle of the Marne were in sight, but we see no such stopping of the advancing flood of disaster.

J. H. H.

American Notes

[Editorial Correspondence]

I

I have just listened by radio to the "morning inspirational service, under the auspices of the Council of Churches." This is given six days of the week, from 9:30 to 9:45 a. m. First there was a solo, "His eye is on the sparrow, I know He watcheth me." . . . "I sing because I'm happy, I sing because I'm free, . . . I know He watcheth me." . . . Then came a reading from the 8th chapter of Romans, "Who shall separate us from the love of God? . . . In all these things we are more than conquerors"—those words of Paul that have some of the roll of the tides. . . . This was followed by a solo, "He shall feed His flock." I thought this service would be very helpful to thousands, in shops, hospitals, etc., throughout the city. It had no "preach" in it, being a kind of a reproduction of the old-fashioned family worship. Maybe the radio will be the means of bringing back some unused customs, whose absence has been lamented. A city-wide morning worship may be broadcast in all the factories, shops, homes, hospitals, schools —and maybe throughout the nation,—who knows the limits? "If only the churches could get together, and agree," said a friend to me, "but apparently, each claims the right of broadcasting in God's name"—but radio may do something for church union.

II

Here is a little story that throws a side-light on life in America. "Arthur Paul, 83 years old, who was the first Negro baby born in Chicago, is in jail for lack of other home, but it is not worrying him. The aged Negro was picked up by a patrolman who found him wandering around the streets scantily clad. He said he had never been out of Chicago. "Where have you lived all this time?" he was asked. "Oh, jes round, jes round." "Does I favor light wines and beer?" he queried in answer to another question. "Sure I favors light wines and beer—and gin." It may be added that he is not listed by either the "wets" or "drys" who are taking a poll of public sentiment. The "drys" however are saying that multitudes of the "wets" who favor a return to light "wines and beer" are like Arthur Paul;—just over the hyphen is "gin."

III

The American farmer still holds a prominent part on the stage of public thought. Time was when the farmer was the leading factor in the nation's life. Anyone who wished to "be President" had to begin by being born on a farm. "The great men all come from the country" passed as a proverb. Figures were produced to prove it. It is no longer true. Something has happened to the farmer himself, and besides another group has grown up next to him. He does not occupy as good a place in the community, as once. What happens to the American farmer is of interest to all the world. . . . Let me note first, that tenant farmers have increased steadily in numbers throughout the United States. This is generally regarded as an unhealthy sign and as leading ultimately to peasantry. In five years—from 1920 to 1925—tenantry has increased 38.1 per cent to 38.6. The number of farms had decreased from 6,448,343 to 6,371,617, but the number of tenant farmers increased from 2,454,804 to 2,462,528. . . . The largest increase of tenantry has been in the south and southwest. In the southwestern group of states six out of ten farmers were tenants. In five years this had increased to five out of ten. Mississippi leads all the states in the percentage of tenant farming with 68.3 per cent. South Carolina, Georgia, Texas, Oklahoma, Louisiana and Alabama, all have over 60 per cent. One should recall that these states are part of the old slave territory, and in late years there has been a migration of Negroes from the south, seeking industrial work and getting away from unpleasant social surroundings. (Negro slavery will undoubtedly affect American life for centuries,—and not beneficially.) New England has the fewest tenant farmers—only 5.6 per cent in 1925. In the leading farming states, like Iowa, Minnesota, Nebraska, Illinois the percentage of tenant farmers runs over 25 per cent and generally around 40 per cent. This is one noticeable fact:—Tenant farms are steadily increasing throughout the United States.

Along with this one must note that people are leaving the farms by the thousands. It is true that farm life has been made more attractive because of telephone, radio, roads and labor saving machinery devices, but the federal agriculture department reports a decrease in farm population last year of almost half a million. What is described as "the net movement away from the farms" last year amounted to 901,000. This means a farm population at the beginning of this year of 30,655,000 as over against 31,134,000 at the beginning of 1925. This receding tide is explained by the fact that the nation is engaged increasingly in manufacturing and less in agriculture. Another fact is that fewer people are needed for working the farms. The principal reason for this, of course, is labor saving farm machinery. Taking the country over, one man can take care of 34 acres, while fifty years ago one man could care for only ten acres. In some states now one man can care for 100 acres. It is estimated that 49,000,000 horse power energy is required to run the farms. Of this approximately half is supplied by animals, four per cent by electricity, the remainder by gasoline or steam engines and windmills. . . . The drift away from the farms is regarded as serious. Along with the drift and part of its cause is the contention of the farmer that he is being discriminated against, since while the federal government assists the manufacturers, railroads, shippers, etc., the farmer is handed a sermon "on the glory of the farmer being his independence" and it would not do to legislate it out of existence. He complains that he has to sell in competition with Europe's low-priced labor and buy in his own tariff-protected high priced labor market. . . . And the farmer's complaint—just or otherwise—is beginning to "reach the king's ears" and the political leaders are saying to each other, something must be done, for "election draweth near."

You will be interested in what Elwood Mead has to say about one feature of the agricultural situation. He is U. S. Commissioner of Reclamation. He is openly declaring that Uncle Sam must stop playing Santa Claus and that hereafter settlers must prove that they are fit to farm. Heretofore, he says, settlers on public lands have not been required to show that

they were fit to cultivate it properly. After this it will be different. The Secretary of the Interior has fixed as a minimum of an approved applicant to be: Some agricultural experience, 2,000 dollars or its equivalent in implements and livestock. The days of haphazard colonization are past, says Mr. Mead. There must be a planning of settlements. The old-style colonizer forgot the farm buyer as soon as the farm was sold. The new-style colonizer, like Mr. MacRae of North Carolina, who brought in Hollanders to show how fortunes could be made by dairying, is the only kind that will receive encouragement. . . . Mr. Mead is most interested in land commanded by federal irrigation works. There have been many failures, for the reason that Uncle Sam has "been acting Santa Claus."

For example, take the Belle Fourche project in South Dakota. Construction was begun in 1906. Three and a half million dollars was spent on irrigation works for this project which provided water for 75,000 acres. During 15 years over a million dollars was spent for maintenance and operation. All of this money came from the federal treasury. The whole has been run at a loss, and that very considerable. This has been due to the lack of a settlement policy, and in recent years by delivering free water. Too many people were accepted who knew nothing about farming and did not intend to become farmers. Among the "settlers" would be a deep-sea diver, or a wife of an itinerant base-ball player, or a trained nurse, etc., who invested their saved-up money in "a farm"—perhaps as a speculative buyer. . . . Soon the era of foreclosures arrived. . . . Mr. Mead cites several projects, one in Montana, another in Wyoming, in all of which the government spent much money in irrigation and general maintainence and finds failure in them all. He says that this period of drift and shiftlessness is over. Uncle Sam does not propose to play Santa Claus any more. There will be a selection of settlers, a thing that has already started. There will be a minimum demand that a settler have some agricultural experience and the equivalent of 2,000 dollars in livestock and implements. He is sure that a new spirit is already working among prospective settlers. . . .Water users are beginning to look to their fields rather than to Congress for relief and success.

SYDNEY STRONG.

The Story of My Experiments with Truth

[The Autobiography of Mahatma Gandhi]

(Copyrighted, 1926)

CHAPTER VII

A TRAGEDY (Cont.)

So the day came. It is difficult to describe my condition fully. There was on the one hand the zeal for reform, and the novelty of striking a momentous departure in life. There was on the other the shame of hiding like a thief to do the thing. I cannot say which of the two swayed me. We went in search of a lonely spot on the river, and there I saw for the first time in my life—meat. There was baker's bread also. I relished neither. The meat was as hard as leather. I simply could not eat it. I was sick and had to leave off eating.

I had a very bad night after it. I had no sleep. I had all sorts of nightmares—now I would feel as though there were a live goat inside me bleating piteously, then I would start up, full of remorse, and then again remind myself that meat eating was a duty, and cheer up again! And the friend was not a man to give in easily. He now began to cook various delicacies of meat and dress them neatly. And for dining, no longer the secluded spot on the river, but a State House, with its dining hall, tables and chairs, about which the friend had made arrangements in collusion with the chefs there. And this bait had its effect. I got over my dislike for bread, foreswore my compassion for the goats, and became a relisher of meat dishes, if not meat itself. This went on for about a year, not more than half a dozen meat feasts having been enjoyed in all. Because the State House was not available every day and there was the obvious difficulty about preparing expensive savory meat dishes every now and then. I had no money to pay for this reform. The friend had, therefore, always to find the wherewithal. I have never known where he found it. But find it he did, because he was bent on making of me a meat-eater. But even his means must have been limited, and hence these feasts had necessarily to be few and far between.

Dinner at home was, of course, out of the question whenever I had occasion to indulge in these surreptitious feasts. Mother would naturally ask me to dinner and want to know the reason why I did not want to come. "I have no appetite today; there is something wrong with my digestion," I would say to her. It was not without some compunction that I found these pretexts. I knew I was lying, and lying to Mother! I also knew that if mother and father came to know of my having become a meat-eater they would be shocked to death. And this knowledge was gnawing at my vitals. I therefore said to myself: "It is essential to eat meat, and also essential to take up food reform in the country. But deceiving and lying to father and mother is worse than abstinence from meat. In their lifetime, therefore, meat eating is out of the question. When they are no more and when I have found my freedom, I shall eat meat openly, but until that moment arrives I shall abstain from it." This decision I communicated to the friend, and have never since gone back to meat. The parents never knew that two of their sons had become meat-eaters.

I abjured meat out of the purity of my desire not to lie to the parents, but I did not abjure the company

of my friend. My zeal for reform proved my own pitfall, and I did not even so much as know it.

The same company would have led me into faithlessness to my wife. But I was saved by the skin of my teeth. The friend once took me to a brothel. He sent me in with the necessary instructions. It was all pre-arranged. The bill had already been paid. I went into the jaws of sin, but God in His infinite mercy protected me against myself. I was almost struck blind and dumb in this den of sin. I sat near her on her bed, but I was tongue-tied. She, naturally, lost patience with me, and showed me the door, with abuses and insults. I then felt as though my manhood was injured, and wished to sink into the ground for shame. But I have ever since given thanks to God for having saved me.

I can recall four more similar incidents in my life, and in most of them my good luck, rather than any effort on my part, saved me. From a strictly ethical point of view, all these occasions must be regarded as moral lapses. Because the carnal desire was there, and it was as good as the act. But from the common man's point of view, a man who is saved from falling into actual sin is regarded as saved. And I was saved only in that sense. There are some actions from which an escape is a godsend, both for the man who escapes and for those about him. Man, as soon as he gets back his consciousness of right, is thankful to the Divine mercy for the escape. As we know that a man often succumbs to temptation, however much he resists it, we also know that good luck often intercedes and saves him in spite of himself. How all this happens—how far a man is free and how far a creature of circumstances, how far free will comes into play and where fate enters on the scene—is all a mystery and will remain a mystery.

But, to go on with our story. Even this was far from opening my eyes to the viciousness of the friend's company. I therefore had many more bitter draughts in store for me, until my eyes were actually opened by an ocular demonstration of some of his lapses quite unexpected by me. But of them later, as we are now proceeding chronologically.

One thing, however, I must mention, as it pertains to the same period. One of the reasons of my differences with my wife was undoubtedly the company of this friend. I was both a devoted and a jealous husband, and this friend fanned the flames of my suspicions about my wife. I never could doubt the veracity of my friend. And I have never forgiven myself the violence of which I have been guilty in having often pained my wife by acting on the information of this friend. Only a Hindu wife tolerates these hardships and that is why I have regarded woman as an incarnation of toleration. A servant wrongly suspected may throw up his job, a son in the same case may leave his father's roof, and a friend may put an end to the friendship. The wife, if she suspects her husband, will keep quiet, but if the husband suspects her, she is done for. Where is she to go? A Hindu wife may not seek divorce in a law court. Law has no remedy for her. And I can never forget or forgive my having driven her to that desperation. The canker of suspicion was rooted out only when I understood Ahimsa in all its bearings. I understood then the glory of brahmacharya and realized that the wife is not the husband's bond-slave, but his companion and his helpmate, and an equal partner in all his joys and sorrows—as free as the husband to choose her path. Whenever I think of those dark days of doubts and suspicions, I am filled with loathing of my folly and my lustful cruelty, and I deplore my blind devotion to my friend.

(*Translated from Navajivan by Mahadeo Desai.*)

M. K. GANDHI.

Germany and Europe Today

(*From a Special Correspondent.*)

Matters in Germany, in a general way, I found much worse than when we left in September. Business has steadily declined. Bankruptcies, I understand, have been appalling. Unemployment reached over two millions, and only last month began to show a decrease. It is believed that the end of the crisis has been reached. But the recovery necessarily will be slow, probably with many backsets from time to time as obstacle after obstacle is encountered.

While, economically, things are in bad shape, politically and socially they seem to have at any rate quieted down. There is not the excitement nor the class and party feeling of former times. The adverse and unfriendly policy of the Allies has resulted in a calmer atmosphere in Germany, and I have understood from a number of politicians of different parties that it begins to look as though Germany might in the not far off future obtain a majority government of some sort, that will develop a definite policy. Until then there can be nothing but a policy of opportunism. The delay in taking Germany into the League last March as promised and the disclosures of perfidy and secret agreements in connection therewith, disillusioned about the last Germans as to the benevolent intentions of the Allies in bringing about an era of peace and good will in Europe. This state of affairs gave the opportunity for the German government to complete and finally execute the treaty of neutrality with Russia, which was accomplished a few days ago. This treaty is so popular in Germany that opposition parties have not dared to attack it with anything except very mild reproof.

It seems that now is the first time since the war that a German has felt that he was able to breathe freely. The future was pictured blacker than the past and Germans saw nothing in membership in the League but slavery. Germany has definitely turned from her policy of the last twenty-five years, of seeking the close political friendship of England. She has returned to the policy of Bismarck, which was, above all, the close political friendship of Russia. The past few years have convinced the Germans more and more that the policy of the big Allied powers and of their smaller hangers-on, was one which aimed at the final destruction of Germany and the German people. Had Germany gone into the League in March she would have been bound hand and foot to follow the orders of the ruling spirits of that organization. She would have had to consent to the use of her territory by foreign troops, to put her railroads at their disposal and to have organized her industries for the promotion of a

war against Russia in the name of Poland. Her territory would have constituted the scene of these hostilities and her country would have been ravaged and ruined by this contemplated campaign. It was for these reasons that the future looked blacker than the past.

The treaty with Russia has changed this outlook. Now, if Germany enters the League, which may be unlikely, she will do so conditionally upon the terms of the treaty of neutrality with Russia. She must oppose the passage of troops and the use of her railroads and industries in any campaign against Russia, under any and all conditions. She further pledges that if, under the articles of the League of Nations, the League Council declares Russia the aggressor in any war in which the latter may be involved, Germany will not accept this declaration as binding but will herself determine the question of who is the aggressor, and act accordingly.

All of which means, of course, if the Allies attempt to force a compliance with their demands, very naturally an active alliance between Germany and Russia must result. One may as well look at the thing in a practical way. Therefore, one may suspect that the treaty of Versailles has begun to assume the aspect of "a scrap of paper." And those who have followed the disclosures of political intrigue before, since and during the war, feel that the sooner that treaty does become a scrap of paper, the sooner will the era of peace, reconciliation and rehabilitation appear. There must be an immediate and full confession of the intrigues, falsifications and frauds committed by the various participating nations with respect to the World War and a whole-hearted attempt to rectify the error into which the world has fallen. Both from a moral and from a political and business standpoint is it incumbent upon America, for instance, to return immediately the private property of the late enemies, confiscated during the war. The principle of immunity of private property was recognized for 250 years, only to be violated in a war said to have been fought for high ideals. America's capital is spreading throughout the world at an enormous rate. I have heard it stated in a number of countries—even in a number with whose armies we fought—that in the next great war the prize would be American private capital invested in foreign parts—by and by, a prize worth fighting for!

At present the state of Europe in many respects is appalling. With French military domination everywhere and feverish activity to establish it permanently, with a ranting, half-insane firebrand in Italy, with oppression and exploitation wherever there are those too weak to resist, with veritable rats' nests assuming the role of centers of culture and civilization, and bent upon imposing their culture upon others by force and intimidation, with taxation beyond anything the world has ever seen, with crooked and depraved politicians filling most of the offices of state and the people everywhere helpless—with art, science, culture and the humanities everywhere forced and retreating into the background, with everything loathsome, vile and depraved, engendered during the war, still dominant—this is the picture of Europe today.

Those who have been wont to look to the guiding hand of the British people to bring order out of chaos and who comfort themselves that somehow under the influence of the old British spirit, Europe will somehow be shown the way "to muddle through," must remember that one of the chief changes due to the war is that neither the English Prime Minister nor the English government can longer speak for the British Empire nor formulate an imperial policy. What was once the British empire in the council of nations is now only England, and England has as many internal troubles as she is capable of giving attention to, let alone successfully solving. And these troubles are the direct result of the war.

Yet, however hopeless things appear today, there is in the present condition of things, for the first time since the war, the greatest hope for the future. For a time it looked as if things would return to the old order. Everything was being done by statesmen and politicians to make them so return. The tremendous changes that are gradually looming up, the very manner of thinking of the people of Europe, show that the foundation of the old order has been ruptured beyond repair and that a new order of things is on the very eve of showing itself. And this new order will be based upon the high ideals so loudly proclaimed before, during and after the war, sometimes sincerely and sometimes insincerely, by politicians, churchmen, hypocrites, crooks, profiteers, race fiends and exploiters, alike, because they knew that these ideals were long uppermost in the minds of the people, and were longed for and sought after.

Our people may continue to congratulate themselves that they kept out of the League, for nothing good will ever come out of it as at present constituted. Until it becomes a League of Nations instead of a League of Governments unresponsive to the wishes of the people, it can work nothing but evil. In slowly-dying Austria one may observe the poisonous infection of its touch and in the wail of millions of oppressed minorities is echoed its disinterestedness and inability when it comes to matters that count. Its discussions have become a joke; its deliberations are as musty and stale as the metaphysical jargon of the Middle Ages; its offices are filled with intolerable relatives of those with power to fill them, at the expense of the taxpayer—a haven of sinecures like India. It is already institutionalized and out of touch with the world. By joining the League we do not get in touch with anything vital and, therefore also, by staying out we do not isolate America from anything that is worth while.—Z.

Munich, Germany.

A PRAYER

In life's disturbing swirl of doubt,
I long to find a truth so strong
That through my darkness, thick with rout,
May break its light undimmed by wrong.

I work and pray and sing and die,
Confused by cares that fret and sear;
I lift my hands and will not cry
With face and form betrayed by fear.

O man, on whom the whip of dark
Is laid with stinging, burning blow;
Thy body yields and takes the mark,
Thy spirit rises free from woe.

O God, to whom thy children pray,
Within my soul is surging strife;
O give the strength for unknown way
That takes me through the press of life.

HOMER LEWIS SHEFFER.

A Note on the Science of Belief

The true church is a stronghold of fundamentalism in that it is dedicated to the fundamental truth that makes its members free of all the deceptions of the world, leading them out into the perfect understanding that: "Thou, oh, God, doth not lead us into temptation, but the world leadeth us into temptation. Thou deliverest us from all the evil of the world, for Thine is the Kingdom."

Now the freedom that is spiritual is not to be gained just by applying the principles and methods of modern science to clear the encumbered mind of dogma and superstition. The fire of science is a cold fire and can but destroy; the fire of spiritual truth is not only "a power of death to death," but it revivifies and recreates the seed of eternal life.

To be free one must, to be sure, first cast off the dead weight of dogma and fear; the second, and vital, step is the renewal of the inner life by an implicit faith in our Divine origin. The sincere communicant seeks first the Kingdom of Heaven which is within, since before establishing the Kingdom on earth one must first discover it within one's self.

The traditional church talks a great deal about God and of the love due Him by its members and that is good, and no doubt we are all somewhat benefited by this reiteration. But are not even the modernist churches apt to minimize the difficulty which faces the scientific mind of realizing that love and that Almighty Presence? As Arthur Edward Waite, one of the foremost popular authors and scholars in mystical research, has written: "Realization depends on love and the difficulty is to begin by loving that which is unrealized, or God before we have found Him." Is the modern church prepared to take that leap into the emptiness?

In all our quest for knowledge, in our great respect for human science, in our striving for intellectual and economic freedom, is there not a fear lurking in our hearts that we have forgotten how to believe? Or, to give the word its spiritual meaning, how to keep God's word? Somewhere in "Alice in Wonderland," that profound mystical work veiled in delightful nonsense (as all mystical truth must be veiled in some manner), Alice protests that she is unable to believe some particular thing and is rebuked by one of the quaint characters she has met who advises her to begin by believing two or three impossible things before breakfast, that is, things that to mortal reason are apparently impossible. Faith, he might have added, becomes authentic by a period of suspense, a partial intellectual vacuum. If one holds on through this interval one etherializes the fabric of the mortal mind which is like a door shut by the defiance of self-dominion in the face of Christ. If one lets go from weariness or doubt one misses this victory of faith and drops back into the pit of skepticism.

The attempt to find God by mortal might and main is a fallacy of speculative philosophy. But faith surmounts all human limitations to the chagrin of force and reason. Let us take to our hearts Jacob Boehme's motto: "My sword is humility and love."

ROBERT ALDEN SANBORN.

The Study Table

A Valuable Reprint

This* is a new edition of a book written and published by Lyman Abbott no less than twenty-nine years ago. At that time evolution was an accepted and even popular doctrine. It had won its battle in the field of natural science, and was now being applied to other and wider fields of human knowledge. In this book Dr. Abbott attempted to show that Christianity was also a phenomenon of growth. The Bible, the creeds, the church, the inner Christian life itself, have all been subject to the law of change. The volume is characterized by Dr. Abbott's clarity of thought, beauty of style and familiar accommodation of spirit. It is a frank attempt at constructive compromise between old and new. It is a significant commentary upon the state of our times, and more particularly upon the contemporary school of Modernism, that Dr. Abbott's book seems as fresh and progressive as ever. A full generation has apparently registered little or no advance in the mind of liberal orthodoxy. One wonders wherein Dr. Fosdick, for example, is such a pioneer when a dead and honored veteran of a past generation not only anticipates but outdoes his successor. It is perhaps characteristic of the age that our Modernists (so-called) are such a timorous lot. J. H. H.

*"*The Evolution of Christianity.*" By Lyman Abbott. Published by Doubleday, Page & Co.

All Sorts of Books

Some time ago we called attention to Dr. Diego Carbonell's edition of a long-unpublished work by a famous Brazilian. The writer was José Ignacio de Abreu y Lima, the book was, *"Resumen Historica de la Ultima Dictadura del Libertador Simon Bolivar"* (Historical Resume of the Last Dictatorship of Simon Bolivar).[1] The original purpose of the book was to defend Bolivar against criticisms and accusations that were being circulated in Europe about 1830. In publishing this long-unprinted work, Dr. Carbonell desired to cement friendship between Venezuela, whose diplomatic representative at Rio he was, and Brazil, which was at the moment celebrating the centennary of independence. We need say nothing further of that work, the manuscript of which Dr. Carbonell unearthed from the archives of the historical institute of Recife. There is, however, another manuscript. Many years later in his life, Abreu y Lima wrote a continuation of his earlier work. This has been preserved in Rio de Janeiro. Dr. Carbonell now publishes this continuated, with introduction, notes and references. It deals with the closing days of Bolivar's political career. It treats of the crumbling of that *Gran Colombia* which the

1. Rasumen Historico de la Ultima Dictadura del Libertador Simon Bolivar. Caracas. MCMXXV. Lit. del Comercio. 160 pp. xxi. 110.

Liberator had attempted to construct. The great leader lived to see himself despised and rejected; he saw the great republic fall to pieces, into the three nations Ecuador, Colombia and Venezuela. It is the old, old, but ever new, story of local jealousies and petty ambitions. The narrative is sad, but interesting. When he printed the first of these manuscripts, Dr. Carbonell was Venezuelan Minister to Brazil. Today he is rector of the Central University at Caracas. He has done a real service to South American history, in hunting out and editing these practically unknown documents.

Dr. Jordan's and Mrs. Cather's "High Lights in Geography—America," is now followed by a book on the same plan upon Europe.[2] It is intended as a reading book for boys and girls in the grammar grades. The idea is to make so many and such associations with places that geography shall have a livelier and deeper interest than it gains from the old-time textbook. Here again we have division into two parts—*How the Earth Was Made* and *Life Upon the Earth*. The former is more fully developed, forming the bulk of the book. It aims to show how geology underlies geography. It also brings historic, traditional and folk lore material into relation with places and physical facts. An idea of the method is gained by a reading of the chapter titles—Europe's Changing Shores, Work of Glaciers in Europe, Volcanic Action in Europe, Storied Heights, Uplands of Central and Southern Europe, the Great Streams of Europe, Waterways of South and North, Erosion by Sea and River, Woodlands of the Old World. A vast number of facts are brought out and any intelligent child's "interest in the places on the map" will be heightened by the reading of the book. There are many beautiful illustrations. Part Two forms but one-seventh of the book and consists of but two chapters—Creatures of the Wild, a story of animal life, and From Savagery to Enlightenment, a story of early man in Europe. They are the least interesting chapters in the book, and the story of early man is less satisfactory than the other. But the book is attractive, interesting and calculated to arouse the enthusiasm of its young readers.

The character and scope of "Health Through Prevention and Control of Diseases"[3] may be adequately expressed by some passages from the Preface:

> "The school, from its very nature, is completely constituted to act as a disease center, an assembler and distributor of children's diseases in the community. Efficient application of the best knowledge of *disease prevention* is indispensable to the task of making the school a successful center of health control and health influence." . . . "It is the purpose of this book to give constructive help in the campaign to substitute health for disease in every school."

No doubt this is a laudable purpose. Probably the child's liberty to live and die in unbridled natural fashion should be curtailed. Natural selection is an unpopular thesis in these days, even in the field of science. The book is addressed to teachers and school officials and is eminently practical.

"Publicity for Public Libraries"[4] is written by a technical librarian connected with one of the most live and progressive public libraries in our country. It indulges in no fine writing, loses no time and wastes no space on side issues. A preliminary chapter states why the public library needs publicity and outlines the general plan for securing it. An analysis follows (a) of the public, (b) of the library. The message of the library is studied in its forms, its expression and its psychology. The mediums and methods of publicity are then taken up in detail and the possibilities and limitations of each are indicated. Library publication, newspapers, signs and posters, displays and exhibits, outdoor and other methods are suggested, discussed and recommended. All are legitimate, all useful, and all may and should be continuously employed. At times extraordinary campaigns must be undertaken. Such should be carefully planned beforehand; no possible feature of advantage or disadvantage should be overlooked. An extraordinary campaign must not be permitted to fail—but failure is possible unless utmost care has been given to preparation and to execution. Chapters of advice regarding statistics and printing are added and a selected list of references completes the book. The volume is packed with suggestions gained from a wide and varied experience, and will help librarians in an important section of their work.

When the Courtis Tests in Arithmetic were a new thing, we became deeply interested in them and felt that they marked a real step forward in educational value. Since then the idea of tests has become popular to the degree that many fear that it is being overdeveloped. Practical business has seized upon vocational tests and efficiency expert testers; the national use of intelligence and ability tests in selecting soldiers for the field deeply impressed the public; Binet and other mentality tests in the psychopathic laboratories have an uncanny influence among us. Mistakes of method have no doubt occurred and unsound conclusions may have been too early reached, but on the whole the idea and use of tests is a good thing. In education they have already produced important results and they will continue to do so. A pile of printed tests has gradually accumulated on our desk. We find, on counting, seventeen which cover a wide range of topics. Two of them are intended to test the work and ability of teachers; the rest are student tests. They come from the World Book Company of Yonkers-on-Hudson, the house which has been most active in this field. From time to time we have called attention to some of their tests and also to the *Bibliography of Tests*, which they issued and which included not only their own publications, but those of other houses. They have now issued fifty or more specific tests. These fall into two groups, those which test mental ability and those that test achievement. So important has this department of their business become that more than three years ago they established a *Test Service* under direction of Dr. Arthur S. Otis, who has had a wide experience in devising and using standardizing educational tests. In connection with this service, Dr. Otis has prepared a dozen leaflets, which discuss special features and questions that arise in the use of tests. These *Test Service Bulletins* are sent without cost to those who are sufficiently interested to ask for them.

FREDERICK STARR.

2. **High Lights of Geography: Europe.** David Starr Jordan and Katherine Dunlap Cather. Yonkers-on-Hudson: 1925. World Book Co. 160 pp. xii. 321.

3. **Health Through Prevention and Control of Diseases.** Thomas D. Wood and Hugh Grant Rowell. Yonkers-on-Hudson: 1925. World Book Co. 160 pp. vi. 122.

4. **Publicity for Public Libraries.** Gilbert O. Ward. New York: 1924. The H. W. Wilson Co. 160 pp. xi. 315.

5. Blackstone—Stenographic Proficiency; Cross-English; Detroit—Word Recognition; Giles—Recitation Score Card; Godsey—Latin Composition; Hillbrand—Sight Singing; Lewis—English Composition; Morrison-McCall—Spelling Scale; Otis—Arithmetic Reasoning; Otis—Classification; Powers—General Chemistry; Ruch-Cossmann—Biology; Ruch-Popenoe—General Science; Stanford—Achievement Test; Schutte—Scale for Rating Teachers; Van Wagenen—English Composition; White—Latin. All from the World Publishing Co., Yonkers-on-Hudson.

Correspondence

The World Court and the League

Editor of UNITY:

Your editorial in the issue of April 12 on American adherence to the Protocol of Signature of the Permanent Court of International Justice necessitates a factual statement on the calling of a conference at Geneva on September 1, 1926.

The Senate resolution of January 27, 1926, stipulated that the signature of the United States shall not be affixed to the Protocol of Signature until the 48 signatory states shall have agreed by an exchange of notes to the American reservations. Since the terms of these reservations, particularly the fifth, affect the rights of the signatories under the multilateral instrument of December 16, 1920, any changes in the Protocol either in the form of interpretations or amendments will have to be acceded to by the other states.

The question is whether Reservation 5—in which the United States declares that the Court shall not "without the consent of the United States entertain any request for an advisory opinion touching any dispute or question in which the United States has or claims an interest"—is directed at a function not of the Permanent Court but of the Assembly or the Council of the League, that is, the right to request advisory opinions.

Because the meaning of the reservation is not deemed clear, the British Government, as a Member of the Court, as well as of the League, felt that "the correct interpretation of this paragraph of the Resolution should be the subject of discussion and agreement with the United States Government." Accordingly, the British representative at the meeting of the Council of the League—which is the chosen channel through which most states conduct their business of common interest—on March 18 suggested that the most convenient way to frame a new agreement embodying the American reservations would be to call an international conference of the 48 signatories of the Court Protocol—not of the 55 parties to the Covenant. The proposal was adopted and invitations were instructed to be sent to those Governments, and to the United States, to participate in a conference for the purpose of discussing questions relating to the adherence of the United States to the Protocol.

The Secretary of State, Frank B. Kellogg, replied on April 18 that "this Government does not consider that any new agreement is necessary to give effect to the conditions and reservations on which the United States is prepared to adhere to the Permanent Court." The acceptance of the reservations by the direct assent of the signatories is considered to "constitute such an agreement." It is natural that this contention should be made by the Government originating the document, but the other parties to the agreement do not find the reservations to be so explicit as not to warrant explanation.

The proposed conference was called to do away with the possibility of 48 different interpretations and misunderstandings of an international treaty, which are likely to arise from a "direct exchange of notes." If the American reservations are to be accepted, among other considerations the signatory states might deem it advisable to formalize their understanding of the reservations in a new protocol, which might form the basis of the exchange of notes demanded by the United States.

The signatories of the existing Protocol of Signature will consider themselves bound by its provisions until the acceptance by the United States of any agreement resulting from the conference to which "it does not seem appropriate that the United States should send a delegate."

A consultation of the documents "reveals the truth" but does not bring one to the conclusion that the "Court is a part of the League, is subsidiary to the League, or can do nothing without the League."

Boston, Mass. MARIE J. CARROLL.

[This statement of fact is written with admirable precision, and with a noble indifference to controversial advantage. We do not see, however, that this affects in any way our editorial judgment. The United States has gone into a Court, which we are told is not a part of the League of Nations, with reservations. One of these reservations governing entry into *the Court*, is found to be "directed at a function not of the Permanent Court but of the Assembly or the Council of the League." In other words, the United States could not enter the Court, under what it regarded as proper safeguards, without getting tangled up with the League. Which is just what we contended!—ED.]

Tax Receipts—No War Bonds

Editor of UNITY:

In an article in the *Atlantic Monthly* for January last, Mr. Bernard M. Baruch, Chairman of the War Industries Board in the World War, sharply distinguishes between "taking the profit out of war"—by government control of industry in war time—and the "conscription of wealth." He denounces the latter as a "theoretical project, prohibited by our Constitution, contrary to the spirit of our social and political institutions, and impossible in practice."

Why so severe a denunciation? The conscription of wealth for war purposes means simply the pay-as-you-go policy, excellent for nations as for individuals. Under it the government in time of war would obtain its necessary revenue by taxation instead of bond issues. Those who furnished the "sinews of war" would be handed by the government tax receipts, not bonds. While our country was in the World War a considerable part of the war expenses was met by taxation. A large part of those expenses might have been provided for in the same way, had Congress so enacted, or a still larger part, or the whole of them. There is nothing in the Constitution that prohibits providing by taxation for all war expenses as they arise,—nothing whatsoever, as Mr. Baruch ought to know.

Taxation is something with which the average citizen thinks himself quite familiar, and in connection with which the epithet "theoretical" seems inappropriate. That taxation sufficient to meet all war expenses at the time they are incurred would be "impossible in practice" is an interesting expression of opinion. One would like to know on what that opinion is based. What does Mr. Baruch think would happen in case our government should follow that policy in time of war?

Mr. Baruch's statement that this policy would be "contrary to the spirit of our social and political institutions" is surprising. One wishes the statement were more specific. Daniel Webster cogently argued that the conscription of men for military service would be contrary to American principles. If, however, we accept the conscription of men for war, surely we can not object on principle to the conscription of wealth for war expenses. Is wealth more sacred than human life? Is property more precious than persons?

Meeting war expenses by bond issues is defended on the ground that it is a method of easing the burden of paying for a war by deferring such payment in part to the future and extending it over a period of years. This attempted justification of bond issuing is utterly fallacious. In reality the payment of war expenses can not be postponed a day, for nature insists on payment in advance for everything she yields. Soldiers in a war can not be fed on wheat that will be produced some years after the war has ended! Strictly speaking every war is paid for in lives and labor—which are absolute necessities—and money—which is only a great convenience—while it is being fought. The device of bond issuing obscures this undeniable fact and deludes the public with the notion that payment can be postponed indefinitely, can even be passed on to generations yet unborn. A hurtful error, indeed! In point of fact, as Secretary of the Treasury Mellon has remarked, bond issues enable—compel—is the fitter word—the poorer section of the population to pay more in the end on account of a war than it would or could pay if war expenses were balanced at once by taxation. That is exactly what bond issuing does and what it is intended to do. Secretary Mellon is right.

Doubtless it is true in one sense that a pay-as-you-go policy would be "impossible in practice," but not in the sense Mr. Baruch intended. Let that policy be explicitly adopted by appropriate legislation; let it be firmly established that *in case of war there will be no bonds but only tax receipts, and there will not be another war.* In other words, put wealth on the same plane as human life, insist that with the conscription of men for the business of killing and being killed there shall go also the conscription of wealth to pay for that business at the time, and there will be no more war.

HENRY W. PINKHAM.

Boston, Mass.

THE FIELD

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"

FOR RUSSIA'S HOMELESS CHILDREN

American Trade School in Moscow

Teaching trades to homeless boys of fourteen to eighteen in self-supporting educational workshops;

Relieving the children's homes from their greatest problem, the idle older boy, thus enabling them to handle the younger homeless waifs;

Bringing "American technique" into Russian industries, via the orphan boy and the American instructor.

An Experiment in Educational Self Support

One plank in the bridge between American productive methods and the material resources and social ideals of Russia.

The American Trade School exists by contract with the Moscow Department of Education, as an autonomous institution raising its own budget and selecting its own instructors and bringing its own machines duty free from America, but meeting constantly in a pedagogical council with the various children's homes in its immediate vicinity from which it draws its children.

We have grown by leaps and bounds. In October, 1925, we secured our contract, giving us six houses in a suburb of Moscow, surrounded by 120 other houses belonging to the Department of Education, and all of them offered to us if and when we could fill them. Immediate constituency, 300 boys from fourteen to eighteen.

In November entered Prousse, our watch-maker, and the immediate effect of his $5,000 worth of machines, plus his own skill and personality, led to our receiving two more houses in the suburb Tarasovka, and later a whole floor in a brick building in Moscow proper; Prousse also became adviser to the Exact Mechanics Trust of Moscow. . . . . In March enters Wolfson, dental mechanic, and his shop is also judged too important for the suburb. . . . . These are the first watch-making school and dental mechanics school to be started in Russia.

In April goes Babin, our builder and cabinet-maker, who will organize a gang of boys and begin repairing as many of the 120 houses as we have material for. We are equipping him with a small but modern shop of machine-driven saws and planer and shaper, together with a fine assortment of hand-tools. This is the easiest of the basic trades to begin with in our suburban center. Follows Manowitz, with a $3000 book-binding shop, for which there is a great demand in Russia. We have also secured shop machinery in Moscow at a bargain, and are seeking an instructor for this.

Almost before our people are on board the steamer, word comes of a bargain in shopschool equipment to be had from the Y. M. C. A. in Boston which is liquidating a machine-shop, auto-mechanics shop and battery school. If we can get these cheap enough we will take them, even though it will strain our last resources and throw our instructors back on the problem of supporting themselves on the side while waiting for their workshops to produce. But these are all trades that are wanted in Russia of today.

We are doing this almost on a shoe-string. After our machines land in Moscow we have only some two thousand dollars to maintain five departments,—and possibly seven or eight departments. But the Department of Education gives us our buildings free, and even puts in electricity for us at a cost of $3,000. Most of our instructors are Russian-American mechanics, who are so eager to help their native land in its great opportunity for the future, that they not only pay their own way over to Russia but often donate tools or even make loans of machinery, and take their chances on getting wages out of the production of their work-shops. They know that we are blazing a new trail which, if successful, will make it possible for thousands of such Russian-American mechanics to vitalize Russian industry by combining with the youthful, untrained vitality of Russia's homeless waifs, and forming with them collective working units unhampered by old methods.

We have the chance to build a wonderful educational, industrial village, filling 125 houses with busy youngsters learning trades; sending our specialized industries into the center

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Refuse to Go to War!

To the Editor:

The movement against war which has recently been started in England is of immense interest to English speaking people the world over and may exercise immeasurable influence in many lands. It bids fair to make England the pioneer among the great nations in their halting march toward freedom and civilization—a march beset with obstacles that require only courage and determination to overcome wholly. The aim of this movement is to obtain as many names as possible signed to a pledge against war which is absolute in character. The pledge is called a Peace Letter, is addressed to the Prime Minister and reads as follows:

> Sir,
>
> We, the undersigned, convinced that all disputes between nations are capable of settlement either by diplomatic negotiation or by some form of international arbitration, hereby solemnly declare that we shall refuse to support or render war service to any Government which resorts to arms.

The leader in this movement is Arthur Ponsonby, M. P., former Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs. He speaks to crowded houses throughout the country and his audiences respond eagerly to his spirit of enthusiasm and consecration to his cause.

The war was a far more serious affair to the people of England than to us, thousands of miles from its scenes of horror. In England they were fighting their next neighbor. They were losing their men by thousands on thousands a day. They were not only killing non-combatants and destroying towns by air-plane raids, they were having that same medicine forced upon themselves in towns and cities along the coast. The war was a terrific and loathsome reality to them and they are now awakened to the necessity of repudiating warfare forevermore.

But as the government does not proceed fast enough toward the desired haven the people are expressing their convictions in a practical way. Ponsonby says, "The people are in a mood to listen. They are conscious of having been duped. They recollect very keenly the stupendous effort; they see very clearly the barren and disastrous results." . . . "and simplest of all we can bring along the ordinary man and woman of common sense who can see at a glance that if nothing whatever is accomplished by this vast, expensive and brutal method it is time that it was finally abandoned."

One who has read Ponsonby's extraordinary book, "Now Is the Time," must realize the simplicity and eloquence with which he would present his sacred cause. If his addresses follow the line of argument given in his book he would be likely to make the absolute futility of war his chief point of attack.

When people are honest with themselves—we as well as others—they will admit that warfare is an agent for terrorism and destruction, *and nothing else.* Once that fact is really grasped what can an honest person do but repudiate war in toto? As Ponsonby says: "And so we can ask the people to speak for themselves, each one individually, and say whether they will have any part or lot in the senseless and barbarous method of attempting to solve international differences.

"No Government can wage war without them. If they want peace they can have it." And when all honest people and peace lovers repudiate warfare what can a government do?

A folder used in this campaign says: "Men and women who sign the Peace Letter are simply declaring that for the good of their country, for the well-being of their fellow men all the world over and for the protection of civilization they refuse to take any part in attempting to settle a dispute with another nation by means of massacre and devastation. They are saying that they want the nation's resources to be used for curing the crying evils in our midst rather than for killing innocent people in distant lands.

"There is no international dispute which cannot be solved in the Council Chamber. There is no international dispute which can be solved by war.

"Those who sign, therefore, are taking the line of common sense, sound morality, and true enlightenment; and this line is also the line of the highest expediency."

The demand for copies of the booklet containing copy of the Peace Letter and places for fifty signatures, has become so great that it has been decided to wait until November before sending the signatures to the Prime Minister. If by that time two or three million signatures are obtained the outcome will be worth watching.

Brookline, Mass. LYDIA G. WENTWORTH.

of the Soviet capital, where their work, if well done, will be observed and copied from all quarters of the Republic. We need good equipment for this, and proper support, not the hand-to-mouth methods with which so far we are managing to get along. No foreigner has yet received from the Soviet Union, in the sphere of education, the autonomy and opportunity which our school enjoys. But they expect Americans to work miracles.—*And America must make good!*

John Reed Children's Colony

This farm colony, started two years ago by the homeless boys and girls of the Volga, and now operating a farm of 600 acres, a mill, a tractor, and many workshops, is already known to tens of thousands in America. It has been fully described in my book "Children of Revolution" . . . . This summer it will probably be connected with the American Trade School in Moscow through ties of a guardianship which will make easy the sending of latest technical methods to this far-away group of heroic children who are working out not only their own living, but an ideal for the homeless children of Russia, the ideal of a self-supporting, expanding commune, where self-supporting labor shall provide its own education.

As a first step in putting American technique at the disposal of John Reed Colony, Pavel Yashin, a former Saratov peasant who has studied the past seven years in Cornell agricultural College, has gone over with some tons of modern machinery and special seeds. The Cornell Committee, formed from members of the Department of Agriculture and of Home Economics, sends with him four sewing machines, a washing machine, besides farm-carpentry tools and ordinary farming equipment. He bears with him special seeds from the U. S. Department of Agriculture, and special credentials of the Russian Department of Agriculture, which will enable the children of John Reed Colony to begin producing good seeds for an entire district.

Yet these two schools, touching 100 children on the Volga and 300 in Moscow, and indirectly affecting hundreds more, have cost to date less than $20,000 in contributions from America. Nowhere else in the world does a little money go so far as in help to Russia's homeless children, where all forces of government and social organization combine to give whatever they have to give freely, but where the small amounts of actual cash needed for foreign tools and machinery and working capital, are still so painfully hard to secure.

Anna Louise Strong,
President, American Trade School in Moscow.
Guardian, John Reed Children's Colony.
Hotel Continental, Moscow.
508 Garfield St., Seattle, Wash.

—*John H. Finley, Ex-President College of the City of New York; now an editor of the New York Times.*
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